

## Message Text

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22

ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINR, PINT, PFOR, PL

SUBJECT: DISSIDENT POLITICAL THEORY

REF: WARSAW 7460

1. SUMMARY. POLISH DISSIDENT JACEK KURON HAS ISSUED A MANIFESTO CALLING FOR UNITED OPPOSITION TO THE TOTALITARIAN AIMS OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES. THE DOCUMENT IS A CONDEMNATION OF A LARGER WORK CONFISCATED FROM KURON BY SECURITY POLICE ON NOVEMBER 3. IT OUTLINES THE ILLS OF POLISH SOCIETY AND PROPOSES "FINLANDIZATION" OF THE COUNTRY AS A DESIRABLE GOAL OF POLISH POLICY, GIVEN THE THREAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE DEPARTMENT (ATTENTION EUR/EE- ALAN THOMPSON). END SUMMARY.

2. "THOUGHTS ON A PROGRAM FOR ACTION" IS A REJECTION OF THE MARXIST CONCEPT THAT THE WORKING CLASS

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REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE. ACCORDING TO

KURON, THE ATTEMPT OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO MAINTAIN THE FICTION OF UNITED OPINION IS ITSELF A PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF THE SYSTEM'S FAILURE. DIFFERENT SOCIAL GROUPS HAVE DIFFERENT GOALS, BUT, BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO EXPRESS THEM, THERE CAN BE NO RATIONAL COMPROMISE. KURON SAYS THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE AS INFURIATED BY THE AUTHORITIES' DENIAL OF THE PRESENT CRISIS AS THEY ARE BY THE CRISIS ITSELF: THE CRISIS IS NOT ONLY FOOD AND COAL SHORTAGES, BUT ALSO THE COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT THE MEASURES TAKEN TO IMPROVE MEAT PRODUCTION ARE FAILING AND THAT THE "TERROR" TACTICS USED DURING AND AFTER THE JUNE DISTURBANCES WERE RESCINDED ONLY BECAUSE OF WORLD CONDEMNATION.

3. OPPOSITION TO TOTALITARIANISM IN POLAND TAKES SEVERAL FORMS, ACCORDING TO KURON: 1) CLIQUES, FAVORITISM, AND PETTY CORRUPTION IN INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS (E.G., OB-TAINING MEAT THROUGH CONTACTS RATHER THAN BY STANDING IN LINE); 2) ADMINISTRATIVE MANEUVERS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION (HOARDING RESERVES, OVERSTATING ACCOMPLISHMENTS); 3) OPEN, COLLECTIVE ACTION. THE FIRST TWO EXAMPLES, BECAUSE OF THEIR ILLEGAL CHARACTER, ARE SOCIALLY DESTRUCTIVE. THE THIRD, HOWEVER, PROMOTES SOLIDARITY RATHER THAN DIVISION AND, IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, IS THE PRINCIPAL FORM OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION.

4. KURON LISTS THE INSTANCES WHERE UNITED ACTION, CONSTITUTING "SOCIAL RESISTANCE", HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN POLAND: 1) PEASANT OPPOSITION TO COLLECTIVIZATION OF FARMS; 2) WORKERS' OPPOSITION IN 1956, 1957, 1970, AND 1976, A COSTLY AND INEFFICIENT, BUT STILL EFFECTIVE, FORM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION; 3) ACTIVITIES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GUARDING HUMAN SOVEREIGNTY; 4) THE WORK OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, SUPPORTED BY POLES ABROAD, TO FORGE A NATIONAL CONSCIENCE AND A SENSE OF REALITY.

5. KURON BELIEVES THAT OPPOSITION BY VARIOUS GROUPS IN POLAND IS ALWAYS AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN SOME FORM OF SOVEREIGNTY. HE WRITES THAT THEBEST SYSTEM FOR SATISFYING CONFLICTING DEMANDS IS A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, AND LISTS BOTH HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY EXAMPLES, SUCH AS THE "LETTER OF THE

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59," TO SUGGEST THAT THE POLISH MILIEU IS CONDUCIVE TO A PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM.

6. KURON ACKNOWLEDGES THE THREAT OF SOVIET INTERVENTION, BUT CONCLUDES IT IS MORE PROBABLE IN CASE OF NATIONAL PARALYSIS (LIKELY UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM) THAN IN THE FACE OF A WIDELY SUPPORTED REFORM MOVEMENT. KURON ARGUES THAT FULL SOVEREIGNTY IS IMPOSSIBLE, AND THE SUCCESS OF

LIMITED GOALS DEPENDS ON THE AMOUNT OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION. HE CALLS FOR "FINLANDIZATION: PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, LIMITED IN INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY TO THE DEGREE THAT THE CLEARLY FORMULATED INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE AFFECTED".

7. COMMENT: KURON'S "THOUGHTS" ARE A REPLY TO OFFICIAL CRITICISM THAT THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IS DESTRUCTIVE RATHER THAN CONSTRUCTIVE (REF). HE ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE A THEORETICAL AS WELL AS A TACTICAL BASIS FOR FURTHER ACTIVITIES. WHILE HIS TACTICAL PRESCRIPTION IS A REPETITION OF THE APPEAL FOR UNITED ACTION, IT IS FURTHER TESTIMONY THAT THE DISSIDENT LEADERS ARE AWARE OF THE NEED TO FORM A COALITION WHICH WILL RAISE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN POLAND FROM THE LEVEL OF SPORADIC POPULAR OUTBURSTS ACCCOMPANIED BY BLOODSHED. END COMMENT.

DAVIES

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NNN

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